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of native plunderers too long a time for them to retain their original wealth of inscriptional and pictorial material. So that the Tomb of Pabasa, being as it is almost intact, gains in importance by their loss, and will remain one of the best monuments of the Saite Period in Thebes.

Another piece of work was undertaken while the excavations which have been described above were being carried on. This was in an outlying portion of the Asasif concession, in the cliffs south of the Temples of Deir el Bahri. It was done

mainly in order to forestall plundering which had been started there. Some interesting results were obtained, but since further excavation is being conducted there during the present season of 1919-20, it is better that the two pieces of work should be considered together, and they will be the subject of a separate paper.

To L. F. Hall and Walter Hauser the writer is indebted for the plan and section of the Tomb of Pabasa; and to H. E. Winlock for many valuable suggestions.

AMBROSE LANSING.

### III. THE WORK OF THE TYTUS MEMORIAL FUND

FROM the close of the season of 1916-17 at Thebes, it proved necessary during the final period of the war to limit the activities of this fund to work at home; but the rich harvest previously gathered in more than sufficed, after war had claimed its heavy toll on the services of the staff, to keep it fully employed. Considerable progress was made in preparing the tombs of Puyemrê, Weserhat, Kenamun, and Apy for publication, and, now that craftsmen have again become available for color-printing, it is hoped that two additional volumes of the series may appear in the near future and others follow without delay.

Specimen scenes from the fascinating tomb of Apy (No. 217) have not yet appeared in accounts of the work of the fund. I had occasion recently to cite them<sup>1</sup> and the features to which I then drew attention may well be enlarged upon a little here and foreshadow some of the interest that the coming publication is bound to arouse.

It is a tomb of the early Ramesside period, and, like most of the Theban sepulchres, has a lamentable history; the more so as the present generation is responsible for its misfortunes. The little chamber was very insufficiently copied, and published with astonishing misstatements and omissions in 1891, when in a fairly perfect, though precarious, state. It was then re-buried in such a way as to invite ruin. When it was re-discovered a few years ago,

the Expedition of our Museum roofed it in a solid way that might well be taken as a model for other tombs in the necropolis. But by that time one of the most interesting walls had almost completely disappeared. By this loss, which only the charitable can call an accident, a very charming scene has been lost for ever; the only mitigation of the tragedy being that a relatively good copy of it had been made by the first discoverers, and that the other walls still survived to be preserved and published by the best means at our disposal.

In The Tomb of Nakht (Vol. I of the Tytus Memorial Series) I have said, "With the failure of the mysterious movement, political and religious, which culminated under Amenhotep the Fourth (Akhnatón), the most promising era of Egyptian history came to a sudden end in full prime and every subsequent growth was checked . . . though the influences of the past era are carried over into the first reigns of the Nineteenth Dynasty" (p. 12). I wish here to adduce some proofs from the tomb of Apy that the stirring of the Egyptian spirit which became manifest in the revolt referred to, though outwardly suppressed, was by no means barren. Being rooted in the national character and environment, it necessarily contributed something to that succeeding age which we call the Ramesside period, and most markedly in its opening years. As in the great philological phases which we call New-Egyptian, Dem-

<sup>1</sup>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, vol. IV, p. 237.

## THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1916-1919

otic, Coptic, the new vocabulary and forms are now known to be the revelation of hitherto unknown sides of the mentality and speech of the people rather than novel accretions; so the later aspects of

tried altogether by the outward triumph of the pantheon.

What impresses us in the effect of the heresy on art is the love of nature and the eagerness to portray it, as well as the re-

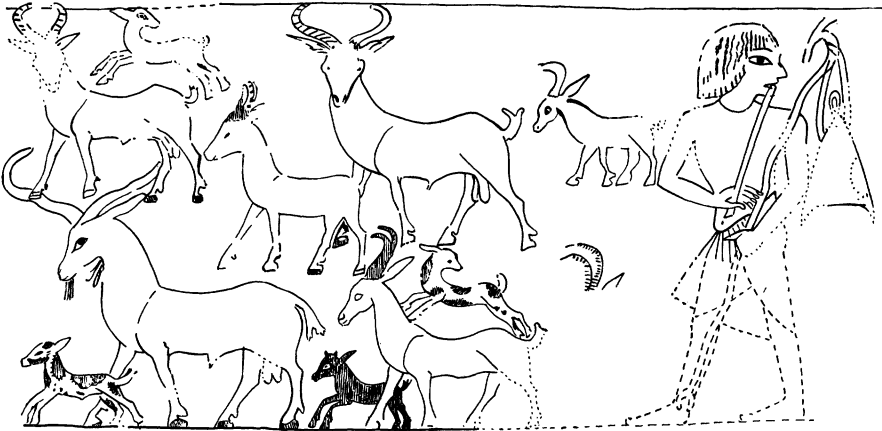


FIG. 1

Egyptian life and art, and probably the movement of Akhnatón also, are not accidents, but the outcrop of strata of national character which had not been clearly visible before.

The heretical worship of the sun-disk was probably in a limited sense a popular cult. It must have been by the adhesion of the smaller officials and the passive backing of the mass of the population that the king could invade every tomb and temple in the land and brutally force their helpless inmates to a dumb acquiescence in his creed. The new faith enshrined, better than the old polytheism had done, the sunny optimism of the people, its intimate relations with nature, its indifference to the stiff gods of the bureaucracy, and probably had the negative result, at least, of lowering its respect for the ancient gods who had been put down with such ease; a lessening of dignity which was not re-

spect for mankind which credits even the peasant and the lout with character and encourages the most genial relations between all classes. In art the movement rejects ancient convention, partly because it sees the unnecessary violation of nature in

which it has become involved, and partly because it is too eagerly conscious of creative power to lose time and spirit in professional apprenticeship. Hence when state favors and pecuniary reward were withheld from the new art-form, the artist

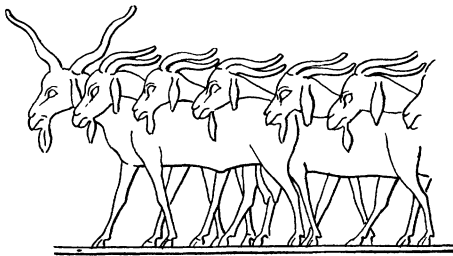


FIG. 2

took refuge in his sketch books, which in Egypt were furnished gratis by the necropolis in the shape of flakes of white limestone (*ostraca*). On these, when not under the necessity of using them as an aid to professional commissions, he gave vent to his sarcasm, his humor, his *Volks-religion*, his admiration for others' achievements, as well as his love of drawing for its own sake. But whether the schools of Thebes and

Memphis had been ruined by the interregnum, and provincial art had come to its own, or whether orthodox art was less easy to re-establish than orthodox religion,



FIG. 3

many of the old rules and models which had lasted on with few changes from the early dynasties, but had of late threatened change, passed into disuse. A new grace and suppleness, a richer complexity, a



FIG. 4

wealth of color, had come and conquered, but only to meet a greater conqueror in the deadening religious themes to which the artist was more and more confined and from which there was scant place of relaxation.

Before this came about, however, there

was a short interval in which the new impulses and the coming restrictions struggled for the mastery, and resulted in quaint combinations of the virtues and vices of Egyptian art. This phase is largely restricted to the reign of Ramses the Great, when the new dynasty had taken strong root, though the previous reigns of Tutankhamun, Ay, and Haremhab show signs of the change that had been wrought. There are several painted tombs of this period at Thebes which exhibit the greater freedom and directness which had been gained, though one can often detect the slovenliness and license to which these

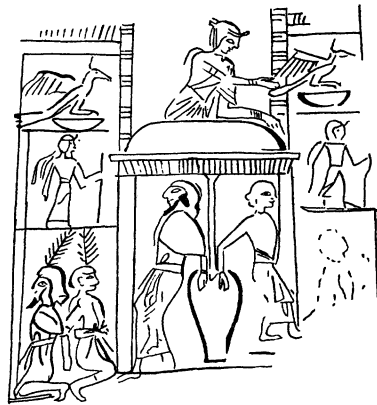


FIG. 5

qualities were fated to sink. Both tendencies are strongly evinced in the tomb of Weserhat. Though its scenes are entirely religious, yet, in their combination of grace with lavish decorative, and especially floral, details, they are of a pronouncedly novel type, as the excerpts in the BULLETIN for March, 1911, show.

But it is in the tomb of Apy that these features, so new as to have been only faintly adumbrated in pre-revolutionary tombs<sup>1</sup>, are so marked as to make one ask in amazement into what epoch one can have dropped. The tomb is unique just because it belongs to a transition stage

<sup>1</sup>As in the case of Tomb 181 (the *Tombeau des Graveurs*, also re-discovered and copied for publication by our Expedition) and in Tombs 78 and 93.

## THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1916-1919

where the old and the new are combining in ever-varying proportions. There is no longer a fixed standard; each artist with any power is an experiment in himself; and,

subject yet to that of the priest, painted, moreover, on coarse plaster, instead of being chiseled in the worst limestone imaginable, the scenes in our tomb display



FIG. 6

if the draughtsman and colorist of Apy's tomb has special idiosyncrasies, it is no doubt accounted for by the fact that Apy himself was a sculptor and may have been himself the executant. There is crowded into this little chamber much of the typical subject-matter of an XVIII dynasty tomb; but the form is quite changed and is one that, deadened and stereotyped, was to constitute the style of succeeding dynasties of Egyptian history. It has counterparts, however, as we shall see, in the local ostraca<sup>1</sup> and in surviving satirical drawings on papyrus.

That direct connections with the art of the city of Akhtatón are rare is not surprising, as the pictures there deal mainly with court ceremonial. Freed from this restriction and scarcely

even quainter plebeian types than those which the style of the heretics had created.<sup>1</sup>

The common man is not here the automaton of so many earlier tombs, where a dozen take their pattern and pose from one, like lead soldiers cast in one mould.<sup>2</sup> He is promoted to be a man with an individual face and personal merit or demerit, having the choice to be busy or idle, behaving a little differently even from his co-workers on a task, and if he is a subject for the jibes of the artist, evidently he has often himself been the first to laugh. In the early style the servants mostly march faceforward,



FIG. 7.

<sup>1</sup> I have not here estimated the influence of this change of medium. It was considerable, of course, and sculptured reliefs will be found to adhere much more closely to the old monumental style. Absorbent plaster, like the rough ostraca, favored free and rapid work with a full brush.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BULLETIN for December, 1918, p. 287.

<sup>1</sup> The Berlin collection is mainly drawn from the artists' settlement near the tomb of Apy and would seem to be of much the same period.

intent on playing their part; or are nothing but the scribe, the craftsman, the neat-herd. But notice here how often the servant

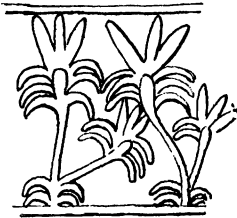


FIG. 8

is shirking his task, turning his head, bent on finding amusement along with his work.

This grant of individuality is not limited to mankind. To observation of nature,

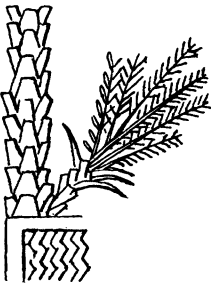


FIG. 9

always so acute, love of nature has been added, a sense of its diversity, a feeling that this multiplicity has a right to be recognized and displayed even if the composition suffer in clarity and in balance.



FIG. 10

The herd of goats (fig. 1) is no longer a procession compounded of one admirable specimen and a series of parallel contours for the rest of the flock, with a row of legs like a bank of oars (fig. 2). Trees, sim-

ilarly, are no longer like yews in a formal garden, clipped to a standard size and shape. They are now of many species, they grow and bend to the wind, have been lopped or have grown awry, and fall athwart the action, instead of remaining apart from it in an avenue or set in vacant spaces like the trees from a Noah's ark (BULLETIN, March, 1911, fig.5). The

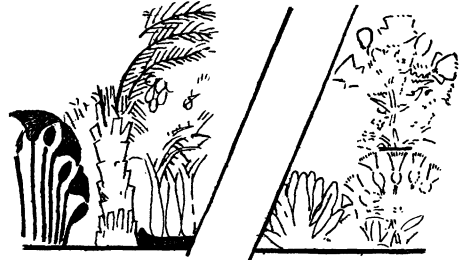


FIG. 11

truth is the artist has made a fresh advance in independence. The solemnity of the subject, the right of the patron to prescribe, the traditional laws of composition do not obsess him as before. His living things are alive, because he is alive himself and dashes them off, as if keen to see them run living from his brush. A straw show-

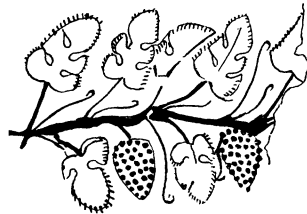


FIG. 12.

ing how the wind is blowing is the readiness of this and other draughtsmen of the period to run a design round the corner on to the adjacent wall, rather than trouble to lay it out accurately. But if we cannot acquit the artists of indiscipline, at least they are vivacious and self-assertive, conscious that correct form is not everything and that there may be life and meaning in the quality of a line.

So too with color. Instead of the



FIG. 13

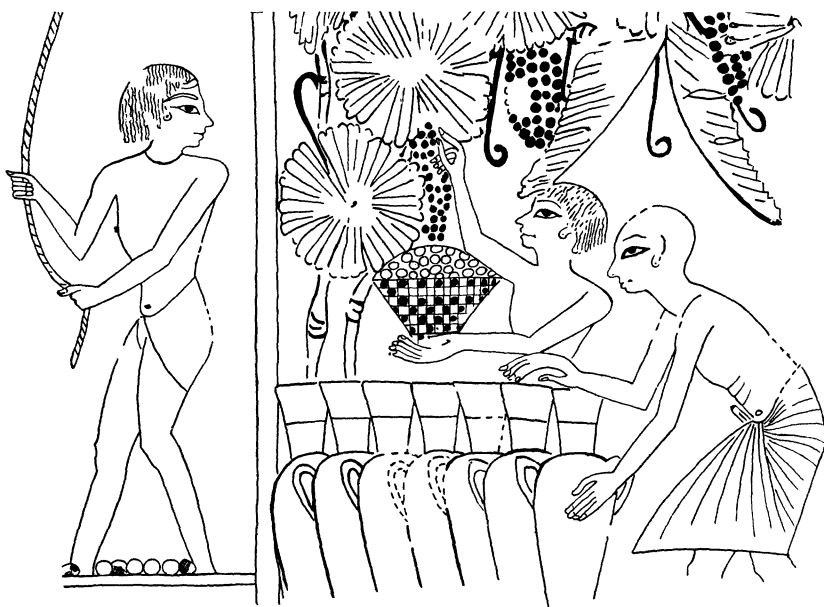


FIG. 14

unhappy slaty-blue ground color of the older periods, the hard whites of the XVIII dynasty, or even the slightly warmer tone of his own period, Apy endorsed the choice of the master-artist of Tomb 93 and laid his scenes against a background of golden ochre. A great richness of tone results, and only in the case of the large work does it foreshadow those terrible combinations of garish reds, blues, and yellows which are inwoven with one's memories of later coloration.

With this indication of the place these pictures hold in the history of the national art, one can study more profitably the

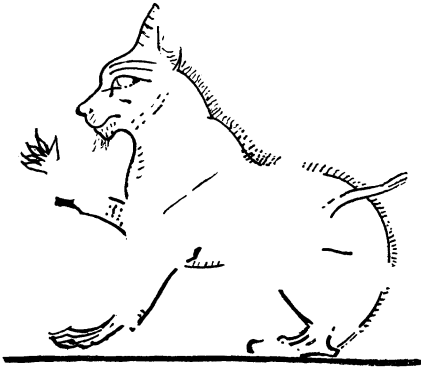


FIG. 15

excerpts here presented, as well as the parallel or contrasted treatment from other sources.

A recurring design in the tombs at El Amarna shows the king leaning from the balcony of the palace to reward his courtiers; this architectural arrangement being presumably new, and perhaps due to the king's personal affability toward his partisans. The innovation seems to have survived the ruin of the new capital. It is shown in the tomb of Akhnatón's vizier, Ramosy, at Thebes (No. 55) and reappears in the reign of Ay (Tomb 49) and in that of Haremhab (Tomb 50). A similar window was probably fitted to the palace of Ramses II at Thebes, as it was by Ramses III at Medinet Habu; for it is found pictured in this tomb (fig. 3)<sup>1</sup> with such close adhesion

<sup>1</sup>From two fragments rescued from the debris and restored by the help of a published sketch.

to the style of Akhnatón (fig. 4) that the first editor of the tomb believed that king to be represented here. The courtiers and their rewards are drawn after the old designs also, even to the rare depiction of riding gloves. A less precise copy of the design is found on one of the Berlin ostraca, which is thus dated approximately to this period (fig. 5).

Special attention to facial expression and even to portraiture was a feature of statuary and reliefs at El Amarna, though the immediate results were not always happy. This form of individualization is seen to reach a higher standard still in this tomb, as we pass from one vivacious group of peasants or laborers to another. Compare, e.g., the figure of the fisherman mending his nets (fig. 6) with that shown on p. 288 of the BULLETIN for December, 1918, where little or no advance has been made on the best models of the Old Kingdom. Notice, too, how here and in figure 3 the trick of rendering the supple activity of the human hand and fingers has been adopted from El Amarna (restricted previously to the rapid fingers on the harpstrings, as in the BULLETIN for March, 1911, p. 58). Figures 7 and 14 are good examples of the diversity of face and pose which prevails throughout the scenes.

Figures 6 and 7 (a young and an old fisherman helping to draw in a net) exemplify another feature which is a still more direct inheritance from the recent revolution, the treatment, namely, of trees and foliage. This is still more in evidence in figure 13, where a part of the garden of Apy is shown with laborers watering it by means of shadoofs.<sup>1</sup> The mutilated relief showing the garden of Meryrê at El Amarna had already shown promise of a naturalistic

<sup>1</sup>As not a vestige of the scene now remains, this is taken from Vol. V of the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française*, p. 612. Figs. 8 and 9 contrast pre- and post-revolution palm-trees in reliefs from the tomb of Puyemrê, Thebes, and from Sakkara. In this, and in other matters, it is not a new power of perception that has been gained, but permission or courage to represent nature unconventionally in sepulchral art. Compare the trees, e.g., in Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 452, with those on pp. 403 (better in Beni Hasan I, 29) and 433 (early XVIII dynasty).



## THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1916-1919

treatment of vegetation, and the ink drawing in another tomb there goes far to redeem it (fig. 11), without mentioning the well-known palace pavement and the beautiful floral designs of the period. It is at El Amarna that we find the real vine leaf and the convolvulus that the tomb of Weserhat repeats and which became a last-

As the witty legends above the scenes become rarer, the humor tends to be transferred to the design, and the figure of the sleepy servant, e.g., becomes common.

At El Amarna the household scenes contain representations of low life over which a gentle smile seems always to hover; but, owing to the prominence of the royal family

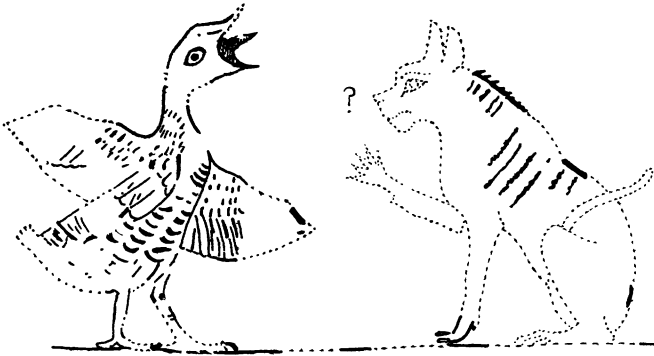


FIG. 16

ing model for the Egyptian artist. In the tomb of Apy there is a characteristic compromise in this respect, between the old and the new, as figure 14 shows. The foliage there is not quite that of a vine; but the tree grows as naturally as if it were.<sup>1</sup>

in all works of art, it is mainly in this exalted circle that real comedy is provided. There is no tomb there, however, where the laugh is so deliberately plotted as in

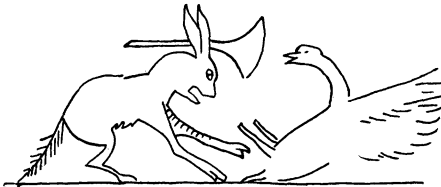


FIG. 17



FIG. 18

As to humor, it is wont from very early times to creep into the less prominent parts of the walls occasionally and was openly tolerated in representations of the dance, mimic war, and animal pets (especially the monkey), though we cannot always be certain where it is fully intended.

this of Apy. Even the sedate figure of the deceased is not wholly spared; for the artist has allowed the kitten of a cat as stony and solemn as its offspring is vivacious to leave its prescribed place under the chair and carry on its antics on its master's knee (fig. 15). The behavior of other privileged pets is still further from our idea of sepulchral subjects (fig. 16). The injured state of the wall leaves the issue of this natural antagonism doubtful, and two other versions of it from

<sup>1</sup>For the old form of the vintage scene and the inexact vine-leaf, see the BULLETIN for March, 1911, fig. 4; for the convolvulus of Weserhat, fig. 8 there; and figs. 10 and 12 above for the true vine-leaf (El Amarna and Weserhat).

a satirical papyrus (figs. 17, 18) depict very different conclusions. Two definitely comic incidents are shown in figs. 19 and 20. In the one case a workman engaged on a very elaborate bed-canopy has taken advantage of his position to indulge in a surreptitious

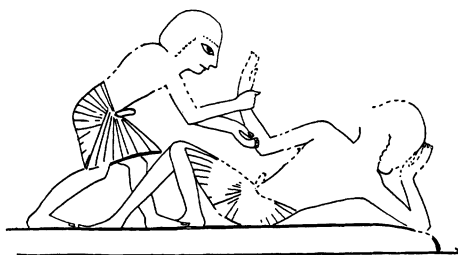


FIG. 19

nap. The overseer, however, appears, and a comrade endeavors to save his friend from detection, but in vain. (The jest seems to have been repeated, with the consequent punishment, on the wall now destroyed.) In the other case, a joiner en-

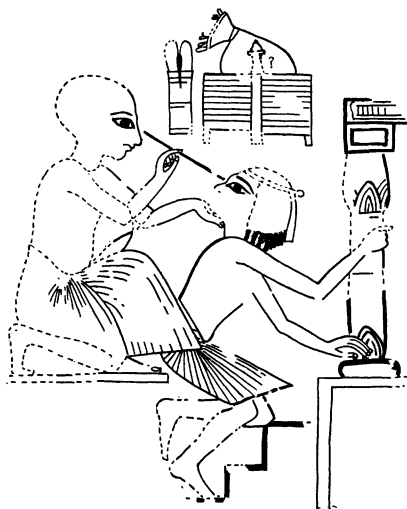


FIG. 20

gaged on the same commission is allowing the painter to edge his eyelids with black instead of doing his proper work on the canopy. One sees that the enormous number of holidays the Egyptian artisan en-

joyed in the month so encouraged him in idling that his habits were the standing jest.

The lad on whom the duty falls of blowing up the fire under the glue-pot (fig. 22) might only appear comic to us, were it not that the subjoined figure of a girl similarly employed shows that this hot task made its victims the butt of many a witticism (fig. 21).<sup>1</sup>

The light-hearted mood in which the Ramesside artist faced life even in the environment of the necropolis, and the power of his brush to illustrate it, while well exhibited in the picture of the goatherd (fig. 1), were capable of achieving higher



FIG. 21

results still, as a parallel product of his untrammelled brush will show (fig. 23).<sup>2</sup>

A frequent feature of the Ramesside tomb, observable here as well, is the column marked out for hieroglyphic texts, but empty. Other less excusable causes may have been at work; but it seems as if the artist had specialized and had become less of a scribe, his opinion of a picture being, as ours will be, that it should speak for itself. The above extracts from this tomb of Apy, at any rate, speak clearly enough, promising that a publication of the whole will be one that should prove dull neither for editor nor reader.

N. DE GARIS DAVIES.

<sup>1</sup>From an ostrakon at Leipzig. Above the apprentice are his saw and chisels, and the tablet on which, when the glue-pot can spare him, he practises calligraphy.

<sup>2</sup>From a satirical papyrus (the wolf as goatherd).

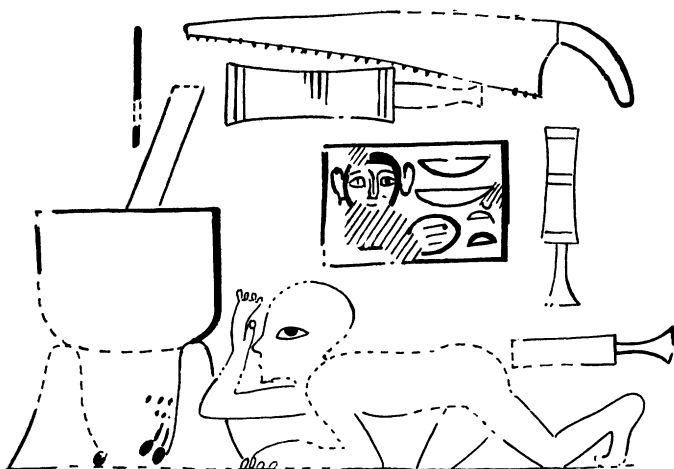


FIG. 22

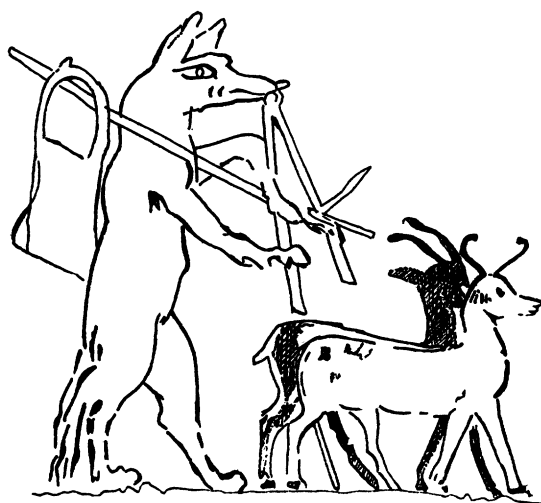


FIG. 23